585 184 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[431] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from Y50 to Y100 up to Y1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 178 727 435 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a consequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler. Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keisai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 178 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 582 [586] [562] [177] Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

absence of need of a similar release from the boring and monotonous life of the women. Yet I noticed little in the behavior of village women to indicate they were overwhelmed by monotony or bored with life, though perhaps longer residence in the villages would have proved this observation false. Might one say that the culture does not fulfill its promise to the men, even though they are favored and catered to and that the drinking is the result of this disappointment? This neglects the fact that drinking is old in the culture and is almost always done in the company of others. If personal frustration and disappointment were the cause, one might expect more compulsive and solitary drinking and more alcoholism.

The sources of this distinction between the drinking men and the abstemious women, I think, lie in the values held by the culture. In the first place, sake drinking is age old in Japan, and probably in Okinawa as well. Drinking sake is associated with ceremonies, such as marriage, with religious observances, with social and public life. The public life of an official, a shopkeeper or business man, a farmer, a fisherman is not divorced from entertainment. Men have an outside life. In their dealings with other men, they are accustomed to drinking. Women do not have this outside life. They have inside duties of which the care of the children and of the house are the most important. Historically, the source of the abstemiousness of the women may be the obligations of being a mother, to be ready at all times to care and provide for or nurse her children, obligations considered incompatible with drinking. Women are expected to be polite, refined, and quiet. These ideals may be difficult to maintain in drinking.

At times a husband and wife may participate in social gatherings as a couple. These gatherings may either be (1) an informal, often casual, event when guests drop in and spend part of the evening, and (2) the formal affairs, such as a marriage, a birthday celebration, a holiday, an extended family reunion, or the observance of a death anniversary. On these occasions, the men occupy the first room, the women the second. The entertainment and conversations of the evening are for the most part governed by this segregation.

Though women are tolerant of drinking, domestic difficulties are often caused by the drinking of the man. Frequent drinking with its noise and late hours may result in family quarrels (fufukanka). Quarrels involving the wife and the husband's female relatives, especially the mother, are said to be uncommon. In the southern villages, the war did away with one cause of family quarrels. Men no longer go to the geisha quarter. There are naturally tensions coming out of individual antagonisms and dissatisfactions: the husband's mother who ignores her grandchild because she dislikes her daughter-in-law, pressure on a woman to produce children to satisfy the pride of the husband and of the grandparents, and failure to bear children, which usually leads to divorce initiated by the husband. Divorces, in these rural villages, were found to be uncommon.[5]

5 No reliable statistics could be found. These remarks and those in the next paragraph are based on personal observation, impressions and conversations.

were justified. Both children were slightly retarded, and people believed that this fact added even more proof.

An illegitimate child is loved by everybody and treated like any legitimate child. The bastard's name is listed in the registry under his mother's and his illegitimacy noted. Since World War II the distinguishing red ink mark is no longer used in recording these children. Unless the mother marries the child's real father, the offspring has no legal rights of inheritance. If she marries another man, the child may receive affectionate treatment from the stepfather, but he remains legally her son. Socially such a child does not suffer any form of ostracism, but adults make references to his status within his earshot. One such girl proudly said that people had told her that she was half-Japanese.

Legally a man cannot have more than one wife, but there are cases of multiple marriage even in Taira. It takes a substantial income for such an arrangement, since a second wife is given a separate place to live. A younger "wife" is usually taken if there is no male heir born by the legal wife or if the marriage remains childless altogether. A man, formerly a resident of the village, took a young concubine late in life after his sons were killed during the war. She bore him a son, apparently with the consent of the first wife, since there was amicable interaction between the two although they lived separately. The husband registers such children as his legal offspring.

Two modes of divorce are possible. A couple may agree to separate and call a family council of parents and relatives on both sides. The township office is then notified and separation acknowledged. Once children have been born, such divorces are not too frequent, at least there were few cases of divorced women with children in Taira. A husband may initiate a divorce by telling his wife of his desire to separate. Extra-marital relationships of the wife would be sufficient cause, as would be sterility, which is interpreted as her fault. In Taira a settlement within the family is the more frequent mode of divorce although relatively rare. One official estimated that the rate of divorce for the whole township is two per year. Among the 59 marriages we found listings for five subsequent divorces. During fieldwork, many debates about modernizing divorce laws were held among members of the Women's Association, which advocated the abolition of the unilateral emphasis that gave husbands all the rights and wives almost none. Only a crime committed by a man would be sufficient cause under existing law to permit the wife to initiate a divorce.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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Part II

Child Training

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Chapter 12

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The custom of "trial marriage" stresses the importance Taira villagers put on a woman's ability to bear children, for it is imperative that there be heirs to carry on the family line. The first child is usually born within one or two years after marriage. Taira people would be extremely surprised if a child is not born soon, for children, especially male offspring, are desired. A barren wife faces the possibility of annulment of her marriage by her husband or even her husband's parents. Should this action be disagreeable to her husband, she may still be forced to take the lesser role of co-wife. A fertile woman who fails to bear a male child may suffer a situation not unlike that of a barren woman. Pregnancies, however, arouse a great amount of ambivalence in attitude.

Most women welcome pregnancy happily, knowing that they are fulfilling their role as a woman. Nevertheless, some women complain

[Kochinda-son]

January, February and April lead in total numbers of births. However, August is the lower fourth in number of conceptions. The possible relationship suggested above awaits validating or disproving when more 'son' can be studied in order to obtain a larger sample. The subject is here mentioned in order to provide researchers with a new path of inquiry. 163

Widows as Mothers of Illegitimates Twenty-nine widows are mothers of 35 illegitimate children. One had twins, and five other widows had illegitimate children in tandem. In the months of February, August, April, October and November, 19 widows conceived illegitimate children, while in the remaining seven months only 15 illegitimates were conceived. The sample involved here is too small to do more than suggest a possible correlation of date of conception and festivals. The possibility should be kept in mind, however, by anyone who does further research on Okinawan population. 848 163

Mixed Blood Illegitimates There are only two registered illegitimates in Kochinda-son who have non-Okinawan fathers. Both are from one village, and neither are included in the above analysis. The 'son' office personnel said that they have heard of about seven or eight more, but that they are not registered as such in the 'koseki'. According to them, the children of mixed blood are probably not registered at all, and will not be until they become of school age. 848 [144]

Connections with Divorce Three illegitimate children were the cause of divorces. One husband divorced his wife upon the birth of her illegitimate child, and sent her and the child back to her parents' home. Another husband recorded the divorce of his wife and the adoption by him of her illegitimate daughter the same day. In the third instance, the widow of a man killed in the war bore an illegitimate girl child. The widow's parents-in-law forced her to return to her family and to record in the 'koseki' a divorce from her deceased husband. 848 586

Accuracy of Figures There are more illegitimates in the 'son' than are registered in the 'koseki' as such. Quite often in the prewar period---and possibly even now---the husband's child by another woman was recorded as the son or daughter of his legal wife. In one case the 'koseki' record showed one woman as bearing two children seven months apart. Investigation showed that the above method of recording had been used. The same method of concealment is often used when a man's unmarried daughter bears a child. 848

Postwar Divorces While there were 264 postwar marriages recorded in the 'koseki' of Kochinda-son, 54 postwar divorces were entered into the record for the same period. This would indicate a rough divorce rate of 20.4 in Kochinda. Since in America one in four marriages ends in divorce[1], and in Japan the rate (as of 1949) is 9.7, it is clear that the Okinawan divorce rate much more closely resembles the American. This Okinawan rate is confirmed by the 1952 statistics, which showed a rate of 20.3 (3,220 marriages and 653 divorces)[2] for Okinawa Guntō. 586 [171]

1 George C. Homans, The Human Group, p. 276.
2 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, p. 1.

[Kochinda-son]

586 Childless Couples Divorces of couples who had no children accounted for 18 cases, or one-third of the total. That there were seven instances of remarriage of the husband after the divorce leads one to the conclusion that the divorce in many cases was caused by the failure of the wife to bear a child. Of the 18 divorced wives, three had been married to men outside Kochinda-son, and three more returned to parents outside Kochinda-son.

The average age of the wife at date of divorce was 24.0 years, and the average was 25.9 years for the 15 men for whom there was complete data. There was no way to estimate the average length of the marriage, since most of them had taken place before the temporary 'koseki' was started in 1948, and the dates of marriage were therefore not recorded.

Couples with Children Divorces of couples who had had children numbered thirty-six, or two-thirds of the total postwar divorces. In three cases the husband remarried, and in two cases the wife found another husband.

The average length of marriage, based upon the elapsed time between date of first conception and divorce record date, was 5.9 years. Five women were divorced from men living outside the 'son' and four men divorced women who returned to parental homes outside the 'son'. The average age of the husband at divorce, based on thirty cases, was 33.3 years. The average age of the divorced wives was 30.8 years.

Reasons It was not possible in each case to assess the reason for the divorce, though some causes more or less suggest themselves by close analysis of the family record of all concerned. Supplemented by information from 'son' office personnel, causes are seen to include the failure to bear children, quarreling of the wife with her husband's mother and grown but unmarried sisters, the bearing of an illegitimate by the wife, the fathering of an illegitimate by the husband, the birth of several daughters but no male heir, and a bride's not being considered a good farmer.

Some of the postwar divorces grew out of social conditions consequent upon the end of the war. An Okinawan soldier demobilized in Japan would occasionally believe the rumor that all Okinawans had died in the war. He would bring back a new wife, only to arrive and find his first wife living. Sometimes he would divorce the first wife, but more often would abandon the new wife for the prewar spouse.

586 159 Divorce Histories A study of individual cases serves to illustrate how in many instances divorce may be the result of failure of one partner to live up to the norms of the society.

Case 1

Wife Haru[1], aged 21, became jealous of her husband's attention to other women. Though she had a baby daughter four months old, she divorced her husband. Seven months later she left the baby with her mother-in-law.

1 In all cases presented here personal names have been changed.

[Koohinda-son]

The husband sought military employment after the divorce. Haru has now also gone to the city to find military employment because her younger brother, who is household head, became angry and said, "...even the animals know enough to suckle their young." An observer commented, "Haru is mentally deficient, so that is why she was jealous." 586 159

Case 2

Kanā at the age of 32 was Chūsei's third wife, and he was her fourth husband. His seventy-year-old mother, Ushii, had become blind as a result of the war. Kanā insulted her mother-in-law somehow. In turn Ushii insulted Kanā by saying she couldn't work very hard. Chūsei divorced Kanā for the quarrel, and she moved to an offshore island. More recently she remarried to a man two villages away, and they have two children. Her new husband fishes during the summer and works for a big sugar mill during the winter.

Case 3

The husband, Jirō, was a second son of 23 years, who had become an adopted husband, or 'yōshi'. His wife Yae, who was a common law child, bore him a son. Because he violently disliked farming he sold the land he inherited and bought a mat-making shop in Naha. His real father, killed in the war, had operated such a business. Jirō also took up a concubine in Naha.

Though she had borne Jirō a son, Yae divorced him because she didn't like the idea of a concubine, and preferred farming to life in Naha. Later Jirō sold the houselot in the village, took the house apart and reassembled it in Naha. The mat shop failed after one year. He now plans to make his living by doing nothing but renting out rooms. He married his concubine eighteen months later, after she bore him a son. Yae married a few days after the divorce, to a man from a neighboring village. She now has two sons.

Diagnosis In the first case cited above, we can see several factors that help us to understand Okinawan society. Attitudes expressed include: [593]

a) A wife should not be jealous of her husband's attention to other women;
b) A brother need not support his sister if she refuses to care for her own child; and
c) A mother's first duty is to care for her own child.

Both divorced persons eventually sought military employment. So we see that urbanization is not alone a matter of pull from the city, but contains in addition an element of being "pushed from the village". [369]

The Chūsei-Kanā divorce was brought on by an insult to the husband's mother. In Okinawa as in Japan the mother-in-law wields a good deal of authority. [606] [171]

In the third case cited, it was found that Jirō had a very bad reputation in the village because he was a 'yōshi' who sold his inherited [829]

[Kochinda-son]

586 159 829 property. After that action he was called by the villagers "white ant", or "termite". From the beginning, community feeling was behind Yae and opposed to him. Circumstances of her birth carried little stigma, but his actions outraged everyone. People thought it quite natural that she should live with another man and bear his child before Jirō formally recorded the divorce in the 'koseki'. As far as the villagers were concerned, the divorce had become effective when Jirō sold his inheritance.

161 ## 3. A Note on the Accuracy of Population Statistics in Okinawa

Much conflicting population data were encountered by the SIRI team. Hence this note is included as being of possible value to military government and to other social scientists who may work in Okinawa at a later date.

Census Figures Year-end census figures, which are based upon de facto count rather than de jure count are the most accurate, since they include all persons actually resident in the village at the time, as well as 'museki', or persons without an official local 'koseki' record.

Many times these census figures are supplemented by figures reporting both the above and all persons visiting in the village or town at the date of census. These "visitors" may include students, peddlers, guests at inns, persons in institutions, and persons visiting friends or relatives. A few examples from the 1953 statistics report of GRI are given below:

Table XXVII

Political Unit	Koseki Population	Resident Population	De Facto Population
Okinawa Guntō	649,997	627,556	637,215
Shuri-shi	22,372	21,921	23,015
Nago-chō	17,067	16,955	17,255
Goeku-son	21,065	20,931	20,749
Kochinda-son	8,738	8,504	-not given-

161 641 The Museki People 'Museki' is a term applied to single individuals or families who are not registered in the political unit where they are living. They may maintain with varying degrees of attention and accuracy a 'koseki' elsewhere. Some simply may have no registration in a 'koseki' anywhere due to a semi-wandering life or a criminal bent. These latter are said to have no legal rights. "How can anyone have rights unless he has a 'koseki'?"

161 621 Ad Hoc Counts Persons who wish an accurate count of the people in any village are advised to consult directly with the village headman, or 'kuchō', rather than with the 'son' office. He is in constant daily touch with village affairs, and is the most knowledgeable man to contact about village matters. Figures given by a 'kuchō', usually are the most accurate for total number of people in the village at any given time. 'Museki' persons are included, but those who are legally residents of the village and living elsewhere are not included.